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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, MPOL, MNUC, PARM, PEPR, GW, US
SUBJECT: APRIL 13 BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON ER WEAPON

REFERENCE: BONN 6772

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1. REFTEL CONTAINS CHANCELLOR'S REMARKS. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS BY OPPOSITION LEADER KOHL, SPD DISARMAMENT SPOKESMAN PAWELCZYK, FREE DEMOCRATIC (FDP) SPOKESMAN BANGEMANN, CSU CHAIRMAN STRAUSS, AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER.

2. HELMUT KOHL, CHAIRMAN, CDU/CSU

-- SCHMIDT'S SPEECH OF TODAY COMES TOO LATE.

-- SCHMIDT HAS STAYED SILENT FOR MUCH TOO LONG ON THE NEUTRON WARHEAD ISSUE OUT OF FEAR OF THE LEFT WING OF HIS OWN PARTY, AND DESPITE GERMAN FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL (FSC) RESOLUTIONS OF JANUARY AND MARCH SUPPORTING THIS WEAPON.

-- TOP SPD FIGURES - BRANDT AND BAHR IN PARTICULAR - HAVE SPOKEN OUT POLEMICALLY AGAINST THE WEAPON. MOST NOTEWORTHY WERE BAHR'S REMARKS OF LAST AUGUST CALLING THE WEAPON A "PERVERSION OF THINKING." THROUGH THEIR REMARKS, BOTH BRANDT AND BAHR HAVE SERVED AS "WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION" FOR THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN.

-- SCHMIDT'S PROLONGED SILENCE ON THE ISSUE PLUS STATEMENTS BY FELLOW PARTY FIGURES ADDED TO PROBLEMS
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IN MAKING A DECISION ON THE ERW, MAKING THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION HARDER.

-- BY STAYING SILENT ON THE ERW WHEN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT HAD FORMULATED INTERNAL POSITIONS, SCHMIDT FOOLED BOTH HIS OWN PARTY AND THE PUBLIC. TO THE EXTENT THAT HE HAD INFORMED BRANDT OR OTHER PARTY LEADERS, THEY TOO DECEIVED OTHERS IN THEIR PARTY AND THE PUBLIC BY NOT REVEALING THE GOVERNMENT'S REAL THINKING.

-- ALL OF THE ABOVE HAS CONTRIBUTED TO TODAY'S CLIMATE OF US-FRG RELATIONS. IN ADDITION, SCHMIDT IS FULLY AWARE OF NUMEROUS ACCOUNTS IN THE PRESS (KOHL CITED "TIME" AMONG OTHERS) -- ABOUT HIS, SCHMIDT'S, DIFFER-ENCES WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. IN SUM, SCHMIDT HAS NEGLECTED PERSONAL TIES WITH THE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP WHILE TAKING

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AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP FOR GRANTED.

-- THE OPPOSITION'S POSITION ON THE ERW HAS BEEN CLEAR. THE WEAPON IS NEEDED. KOHL IN THIS CONTEXT CITED STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT CARTER, SECRETARY BROWN AND THE NATO COUNCIL ON THE EAST-WEST BALANCE, AS WELL AS STATEMENTS BY SCHMIDT IN HIS IISS SPEECH IN LONDON.

-- KOHL ALSO STRESSED THAT THE CDU/CSU HAD DEVELOPED AND FAVORED STRONG US-GERMAN RELATIONS WHILE THE SPD WAS STILL IN ITS ANTI-ARMAMENTS CAMPAIGNS YEARS AGO.

-- KOHL THEN PROPOSED A RESOLUTION FOR ADOPTION BY THE BUNDESTAG ASKING THE GOVERNMENT TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT CARTER GERMAN SUPPORT FOR THE STATIONING OF THE ERW IN NATO, INCLUDING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. (THIS RESOLUTION WAS LATER DEFEATED.)

3. ALFONS PAWELCZYK (SPD)

-- KOHL HAS MADE A MISTAKE IN COMMENTING ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S POSITION. HE IMPLIED THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE DECIDED DIFFERENTLY. THERE IS NO PROOF OF THIS.

-- THE CDU POSITION ON THE ERW IS WRONG IN THAT IT IS ONE-SIDED. THIS POSITION ADDRESSES ONLY THE PRODUCTION OF THE ERW, NEGLECTING ARMS-CONTROL ASPECTS.

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-- THE SPD HAS NO PROBLEMS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECISION. INDEED, THAT DECISION HAS THE SAME GOAL AS THE SPD RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN HAMBURG IN THE FALL -- NAMELY, TO SEEK NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST PRIOR TO MAKING FINAL DECISIONS ON THE ERW.

-- PAWELCZYK MADE A GENERAL ATTACK ON CDU THINKING ON MAJOR ISSUES. HE SAID THAT, HAD THE FRG FOLLOWED THE CDU LINE FAVORING PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE ERW, IT WOULD NOW BE ALONE OUT ON A LIMB WITHOUT SUPPORT FROM OTHER ALLIES, INCLUDING THE USA. THE SAME APPLIES HISTORICALLY TO CDU POSITIONS ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, AND ON THE TREATIES WITH THE EAST.

-- IF ANY ONE, IT IS THE OPPOSITION WHICH IS DAMAGING THE ATMOSPHERE IN NATO AND WITH THE US. ON APRIL 6, KOHL ASSERTED THAT THE CDU/CSU ARE THE PARTY OF GOOD US-FRG RELATIONS. ON APRIL 8, STRAUSS DECLARED THAT

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THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT IS HEELING BEFORE THE RUSSIAN CZAR.

-- PAWELCZYK ALSO INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION TO COUNTER THAT OF THE OPPOSITION, THE THRUST OF WHICH WAS TO SOUND A POSITIVE NOTE ON ARMS CONTROL PROSPECTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S ERW DECISION. (THIS RESOLUTION SUBSEQUENTLY PASSED IN A VOTE ON STRAIGHT PARTY LINES.)

4. MARTIN BANGEMANN, FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (FDP). BANGEMANN DEVOTED A GOOD PART OF HIS REMARKS TO THE EC SUMMIT AND TO PROSPECTS FOR A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. TURNING TO THE ERW, HE REFERRED TO KOHL'S REMARKS ON US-FRG RELATIONS AND THE IMPLICIT ALLOCATION OF BLAME THAT KOHL HAD GIVEN SCHMIDT. BANGEMANN SAID THAT THE

DYNAMICS OF THE RELATIONSHIP ARE A TWO-WAY PROCESS, AND THAT SOME OF THE IRRITATION ORIGINATED FROM THE US. HE CITED IN PARTICULAR THE US NON-PROLIFERATION LEGISLATION WHICH, HE SAID, PLACES THE INTERNAL LAWS OF THE US HIGHER THAN ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. IN ANY CASE, HE SAID, THERE IS NO PLACE IN THE US-FRG RELATION-SHIP FOR INSULTING REMARKS SUCH AS THOSE OF FRANZ-JOSEPH STRAUSS.

5. FRANZ-JOSEPH STRAUSS, CHAIRMAN, CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST UNION (CSU).

-- STRAUSS PILLORIED THE SPD FOR INABILITY TO CONTROL ITS LEFT WING, ASKING RHETORICALLY WHETHER SCHMIDT OR COPPICK (A LEFTIST DISSIDENT DEPUTY) REALLY RUNS THE PARTY. HE LISTED THE ERW ALONG WITH ANTI-TERRORISM LEGISLATION AS CASES IN WHICH THE STATE OF THE SPD WAS DAMAGING TO THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION.

-- STRAUSS THEN GAVE AN EXEGISIS ON THE HISTORY OF DEFENSE DEBATES IN THE FRG. HE NOTED IN PARTICULAR THE

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DEBATES OF THE FIFTIES ON THE CREATION OF THE BUNDESWEHR,

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NOTING THAT ADENAUER'S ADVOCACY THEREOF HAD CAUSED FRICTIONS WITH DULLES AND WITH THE US, BUT HAD BEEN THE RIGHT DECISION. HIS POINT WAS THAT THE SPD HAD OPPOSED THE BUNDESWEHR, AND THAT THIS PARTY NEITHER THEN NOR NOW HAD AN UNDERSTANDING OF DEFENSE ISSUES.

-- STRAUSS HAD SHARP WORDS FOR BRANDT AND BAHR, INTERPRETING THE LATTER'S STATEMENT THAT THE NEUTRON WEAPON WAS A "PERVERSION OF THOUGHT" AS AN INSULT AGAINST THE US PRESIDENT.

-- STRAUSS ALSO GAVE THE BUNDESTAG A SHORT COURSE ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON, POINTING OUT THAT IT IS NOT GENERICALLY DIFFERENT FROM SOME OTHER EXISTING WEAPONS; STATING THAT IT HAD IN PRINCIPLE BEEN DISCUSSED IN NATO SINCE THE FIFTIES (SIC); AND POSTULATING THAT IT WOULD RAISE THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT BY FILLING A GAP BETWEEN TACTICAL AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. HE SAID THAT THE REASON FOR THE MASSIVE SOVIET CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ERW WAS THAT THIS WEAPON ONE-SIDEDLY FAVORED WHOEVER WAS IN THE DEFENSIVE ROLE.

-- REFERRING TO CRITICISM OF HIS OWN REMARKS THAT THE US PRESIDENT HAD "HEELED BEFORE THE RUSSIAN CZAR," STRAUSS SAID THAT, IN AN APRIL 13 GERMAN TV INTERVIEW, DR. BRZEZINSKI HAD SAID HE WAS NOT AWARE OF THIS REMARK, BUT THAT IF SUCH A REMARK HAD BEEN MADE IT REPRESENTED A MISINTERPRETATION OF THE CONSULTATIONS
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BETWEEN THE US AND ITS NATO ALLIES. STRAUSS THEN SAID THE REAL REASON FOR THE US DECISION WAS NOT MOSCOW'S PRESSURE, BUT RATHER THE "LAMENTABLE" BEHAVIOR OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. HE THEN FURTHER LAMPOONED THE CHANCELLOR AND THE SPD FOR A RECKLESS STANCE AND FOR HIDING BEHIND THE SLOGAN THAT ONLY THE US PRESIDENT CAN DECIDE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION.

6. HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER, FOREIGN MINISTER, CHAIRMAN OF FDP.

-- GENSCHER BEGAN WITH AN ADMONITION ON THE IMPORTANCE DURING DISCUSSIONS LIKE THE PRESENT ONE TO KEEP IN MIND THE IMPORTANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE US AND OF MAINTAINING SOLIDARITY WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, AND REFERRING TO THE TWO RESOLUTIONS THAT HAD BEEN PROPOSED, GENSCHER STRESSED THAT THE ERW WAS NOT A US-GERMAN ISSUE, BUT ONE FOR THE WHOLE ALLIANCE.

-- GENSCHER THEN QUOTED THE PRESIDENT'S APRIL 7 ERW

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DECISION, SAYING HE ACCEPTED IT FOR WHAT IT WAS AND
CAUTIONING OTHERS AGAINST SEEKING ANY HIDDEN MOTIVATIONS
BEHIND IT.

-- GENSCHER ALSO STRESSED THE ARMS CONTROL AND
STABILIZATION POSSIBILITIES OPENED BY THE PRESIDENT'S
DECISION, EMPHASIZING THAT THE FRG WAS PREPARED TO
WORK WITH OTHER ALLIES TO EXPLOIT THESE POSSIBILITIES
AND IN THE PROCESS TO REPRESENT ITS VALID NATIONAL
SECURITY INTERESTS.
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